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LETTER V.

TO LORD CASTLEREAGH.

On the late WESTMINSTER MEETING, and on the Declarations of MR. HUNT with regard to the conduct of the EMPEROR NAPOLEON, as far as relates to the Death of the DUKE OF ENGHEN and CAPTAIN WRIGHT.

MY LORD,—The public prints inform us, that, at the Meeting of the City of Westminster, held on the 15th instant, to consider of *another petition* to the House of Commons, their former petition against the French war having been refused to be received by that honourable body; at this Meeting, we are told, that *your Lordship was present*, in your capacity of course, of a citizen of Westminster. I was sorry to perceive, that your Lordship was not well received by your fellow citizens, who, it is stated in the Times newspaper, attacked you, and compelled you to seek safety in the *speed of your horse*. It is also added, that it was found to be necessary to send a detachment of HORSE SOLDIERS to guard YOUR HOUSE during the succeeding night. I notice these facts, my Lord, merely to have occasion to observe to you, that, if we were to hear of MONS. CAMBACERES, or MONS. CARNOT, being thus treated by their fellow citizens, I am quite sure that this same TIMES newspaper would cite it as a *certain proof* of the speedily approaching downfall of the French Government: yes, this corrupt print would not fail to cite it as a complete proof of those Ministers, as well as their Master, being held in universal horror and execration.

As to the Meeting itself, I am very happy to see, and so must every friend of freedom, that there is one City, at any rate, who have had the sense and the resolution to exercise their rights once more. The laws which were passed, during the first French war, to prevent the people from meeting without the consent of the King's Justices or Sheriffs, have ex-

pired long ago. Yet, such is the effect of *habit*, especially *the habit of submission*, that the people have continued to act ever since, as if the penal laws about Meetings were still in existence! The City of Westminster, with SIR FRANCIS BURDETT at their head; have set an example of spirit sufficient to overcome this habitual submissiveness, and that example will, I dare say, now be followed by other places. The people of Nottingham were, the other day, deterred from holding a public meeting to petition against the war. Indeed, they appear to have been *threatened*. They now see, that no one had a right, that no one had a *legal* authority, to prevent them from meeting; and, another time, it is to be hoped, that they will remember this. The "SEDITION BILLS" may, indeed, *be revived*; but, then, we shall have liberty to *talk* about the revival; shall we not, my Lord? And the world, especially the *French and Americans*, will hear *what we say*; will they not, my Lord?

But, the matter which attracted my attention the most forcibly, in the speeches of this Meeting, was, that which was brought forward by MR. HUNT, with regard to the conduct of the Emperor Napoleon, as far as relates to the death of the *Duke of Enghien* and of *Captain Wright*. The COURIER newspaper abuses MR. HUNT for what he said, or is reported to have said, upon this occasion. It says, that that gentleman undertook to *justify* Napoleon in his *murders* of the Duke of Enghien and of Capt. Wright. But, it appears, from the report itself, that MR. HUNT, so far from justifying murders perpetrated by Napoleon, *denied* that Napoleon had, in the alledged cases, committed *any murder* at all. The reason why Mr. Hunt made this denial was very good. He had perceived, that the vile London press had succeeded in making the people, or a great part of them, believe, that Napoleon had been guilty of these murders. This done; hatred and abhorrence thus excited against him, it required less trouble to reconcile them to the present war,

which is, in this manner, on the part of the *deluded* people, a war of *passion*, in which, of course, reason, justice, policy, and even self, bare self-interest, are suffered to have nothing to say.

Mr. HUNT, as was his DUTY, his strict duty, having the opportunity, endeavoured to shew that this hatred of Napoleon was founded in *folshood*; and, though it may surprise your Lordship, I really think that Mr. Hunt was perfectly right in his efforts, if he was convinced of the correctness of what he stated.

The great point, however is, was Mr. Hunt *right* in his STATEMENT, or was he *wrong*? Precisely what his statement was we cannot collect from the report of his speech, published in the corrupt TIMES and COURIER newspapers. But if what they say be true, Mr. HUNT said, in substance this: "that the *Duke of Enghien* was "shot in consequence of a court-martial "regularly convened, and *agreeably to* "law, he being charged with traitorous "proceedings against his country, and "with plotting against the life of Bonaparte by the means of assassination; "and that, as to *Capt. Wright*, he was "charged with having landed *Georges*, "*Pichegru* and others, on the coast of "France, from England; and these men "having been convicted of a plot to *assassinate Bonaparte*, he, *Capt. Wright*, "was not regarded, by the French, as a "prisoner of war, but as guilty of a *crime* "against the laws of war; and that, being confined in prison, and, as he naturally thought, liable to be put to an ignominious death, *he put an end to his own existence.*"

This, my Lord, appears to have been in substance, the statement of Mr. Hunt; and, I am sure, that your Lordship, who was present at the Meeting, would have contradicted this statement, if you had not known it to be TRUE. At any rate, *true it is*, unless all the official papers, published at the time, in the face of all Europe, can be *proved to be false*, which they never have yet been, as far, at any rate, as my observation has gone. And here, my Lord, I wish to be very precise; I say, that authentic, public papers, published by the French government, attest the *truth* of Mr. Hunt's statement; and, I say, that *I have never seen* any paper, published by our, or any other government, *disproving*, or even *contradicting*,

the assertions of the French government upon either of the two principal points; and, I allow, that I have had fair opportunities of seeing all that ever was published on the subject. Therefore, if there ever was any authentic document, disproving or contradicting the allegations of the French government upon the points in question, I allow, that I may be fairly suspected of publishing a *wilful falsehood* at this moment.

But, my Lord, we will not let this matter go off thus. Since the busy slaves of the TIMES and COURIER will keep ringing in our ears the charge of *murder* against Napoleon; since they will insist upon our waging a war of passion, grounded upon this charge; since, if events should, as in the case of America, compel you to make peace with this prescribed Chief, and to acknowledge the legitimate title of him, who is now doomed at every breath, to everlasting outlawry; since, in such case, you and your worthy colleagues might be greatly embarrassed by the charge of *murder* still resting on the head of him, with whom you would thus be compelled to treat: since, in short, wisdom and truth demand a recurrence to the *real facts*, I am resolved to recur to them, and to enable my readers to judge between Napoleon and the vile slaves, who have the audacity to charge him with murder, in order to delude and inflame the people of England.

The death of the Duke of Enghien took place in the month of March, 1804. He was tried by a special military commission, at Vincennes. The President of the Court-martial was General HULEN. The charges against him were:—1. Having carried arms against the French Republic. 2. Having offered his services to the English government, the enemy of the French people. 3. Having received, and having, with accredited agents of that government, procured means of obtaining intelligence in France, and conspiring against the internal and external security of the State. 4. Being at the head of a body of French and other emigrants, paid by England and formed on the frontiers of France, in the districts of Fribourg and Baden. 5. Having attempted to foment intrigues at Strasbourg, with a view of producing a rising in the adjacent departments, for the purpose of

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operating a diversion favourable to England. 6. That he was one of those concerned in the conspiracy, planned by the English, for assassinating the First Consul, and intending in case of the success of this plot, to return to France.

These were the charges preferred against the Duke of Enghien. The court-martial found him guilty upon all and every one of the charges, and the court was *unanimous* in this their decision. They were unanimous also, in condemning him to death. This sentence was passed in conformity to the second article, title 4, of the military code of offences and punishments, passed on the 11th of January, 1795, and the second section of the first title of the ordinary penal code, established on the 6th of October, 1791, expressed in the following terms: "Article 2d, (11th January 1795), every individual, whatever be his state, quality, or profession, convicted of acting as a spy for the enemy, shall be sentenced to the punishment of death."—"Every one engaged in a plot or conspiring against the republic, shall, on conviction, be punished with death."—"Article 2d, (6th October, 1791), every one connected with a plot or conspiracy, tending to disturb the tranquillity of the state, by civil war, by arming one class of citizens against the other, or against the exercise of legitimate authority, shall be punished with death." This sentence was put in execution, and thus ended this unfortunate young man.

Now, my Lord, there never has been any doubt expressed, that I have heard of, of the *truth* of these charges. So far from it, that the friends of the Duke of Enghien, have made it a *merit* in him, to have done the acts here imputed to him. It was afterwards fully proved, if we give credit to the official documents of the French, that the Duke had acted his full share in what was carrying on on the frontiers of France, against the peace of the republic, and the life of the First Consul; but, to the argument of Mr. Hunt, or rather to his statement, no proof of this sort is necessary, seeing, that it is acknowledged to the honour of the Duke of Enghien, by his friends, that he had done all these things of which he was accused. They say that it was great merit in him to do all that he was accused of doing. They say, that the government existing in France,

was an usurpation; that the Duke of Enghien as a loyal subject of the king, and especially as one of the royal family, he had a right to do every thing that he could to overturn the French government, and to cause to be put to death the First Consul, who was at the head of that government. But, my Lord, let us see how this doctrine will suit, if applied to ourselves. There was a time when the Hanoverians, who were put upon the throne in England, at the beginning of the last century, were called usurpers by the loyal adherents of the family of Stuart, and, especially, by the members of that family. Before we go any further, let me offer you an observation about these *foreigners*. The rabble in England (I mean the rabble, the stupid, prejudiced, hood-winked, cajoled, *rich*, rather than the poor) are frequently told, that the Emperor Napoleon is a foreigner in France. If he be a foreigner in France, all the inhabitants of the islands of Guernsey and Jersey, of the Isle of Wight, and even of Ireland, are foreigners in England; to say nothing of those numerous fellow-subjects of ours who have been born in our North American and West Indian colonies. Our present king, indeed, was born in England, but his two immediate predecessors were as completely foreigners as Napoleon himself is now a foreigner to England. Much more might be said upon this subject; but here is enough to expose the absurdity, the gross ignorance, or the base duplicity of those, who pretend that Napoleon is a foreigner to France.

When the loyal subjects of the Stuarts had the audacity to call our Hanoverian Sovereigns *usurpers*, and, aided and assisted by the malice, the insolence, and the arms, of the perfidious and tyrannical Bourbons; when the loyal subjects of the Stuarts, thus encouraged and supported, threatened England with invasion, and, indeed, actually invaded her, for the purpose of making her submit to the *divine right* of that stupid family, what did his Majesty's predecessors do? Did they stand quietly by, as our writers would have had the First Consul do, in the case of the Duke of Enghien; did they stand and gape like sucking geese, when that gallant youth, the son of the *Pretender King*, was approaching towards London with an army of what he called *loyalists*, but whom our forefathers called *rebels*? No, faith! our good Hanoverian Kings did

no such thing. They set a price upon his head, *dead or alive*; they pursued his adherents with the utmost rigour; and I remember hearing my father say, once when he returned home from London, that he had seen some of their heads still sticking upon Temple-Bar. I believe, my Lord, that these heads remained there for nearly *forty years*. A pretty good spell to give the loyal subjects of the Stuarts a caution against acting upon the principle of *divine right*, and in "*contempt*," as your saucy countryman, the pensioned Burke, called it, "*of the will of the nation*."

I should be glad to hear what some great casuist in the rights and duties of princes and of people, had to say, why the French nation should not have a right to act towards the Bourbons and their adherents in the same way, that the English nation acted towards the Stuarts and their adherents. With those, who are ready to contend, and that, too, seriously, that the English nation is not to be put upon a level with any other nation; that we are a sort of chosen people, who are not to be bound by those rules by which we have a right to bind other nations; that we may with great propriety call in foreigners to be our Kings, as we did the Prince of Orange, once, who had not the smallest pretension to a drop of the blood of the Frenchman, who conquered our country some hundreds of years before; that we may employ as many foreign troops as we please, at home or abroad; in short, that, while we have a right to criticize the conduct of all other nations, and even to punish them for any thing that we may deem to be offences, political or moral, we ourselves can *do no wrong*, our character being, like the person of our King, sacred and inviolable. With those who insist upon this doctrine, I shall not attempt to argue; and all I have to ask of your Lordship is, if the execution of the Duke of Enghien was a *murder*, what was the execution of the *Scotch Lords*, and what were the killings of *Glenco*, in the year 1745?

It has frequently been asserted, that the Duke of Enghien was shot by *torch-light*, in the wood of *Vincennes*. It does not seem very likely that the execution should have taken place by night. There appears to have been no reason for it whatever; and besides, if the object was a secret execution, it is very strange that night

should have been chosen for a *wood*! A wood is shelter for day-time. Torches in a wood, or artificial lights of some kind, are necessary, not to make an act secret, but to expose it as much as possible. But this, like all the other parts of the story, has been invented for the purpose of giving tragical effect to the thing; to make an impression of horror upon mens' minds; to excite at once, their hatred and their dread of Napoleon; to fill them with that sort of feeling which is made up of resentment and of fear; and, thus to make them dead to the dictates of reason and of justice. Napoleon could have no interest in putting to death this Prince of the house of Bourbon; except that interest, which he had in common with all Frenchmen. He has lately had the whole family in his power. No man of sense will deny, that, if he had been so minded, he might have detained, and brought to execution, every man of that family. At any rate, he had the Duke d'Angouleme a prisoner; taken in arms against his authority, in the interior of France. He suffers him to depart. Not a drop of their blood does he shed. And yet, this is the man whom our writers call a tyger, a hyena, and every other name descriptive of bloody mindedness.

It is clear, then, that in this case, Napoleon was no more guilty of murder, in consequence of the execution of the Duke of Enghien, than our king was guilty of murder, in consequence of the execution of O'COIGLEY, who suffered death upon the charge of carrying on correspondence with the king's enemies. It is very easy to *talk* about murder; but, if all the blood which has been shed, in consequence of sentences of treason, during the present reign, were laid upon the head of George the Third, what a figure he would make in history. But, as we are not so unjust as to impute this blood to him, neither ought we to impute the blood of those who have been executed for treason in France, to the government of France.

But, in the case of the Duke of Enghien, it is said that he was not in the French territory when he committed the treason. And, were your poor unfortunate countrymen, who were executed, a few years ago, for treason committed in the Isle of France; were *they* in the English territory or in the Irish territory, when they committed that treason? No: and your Lordship knows very well, that

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treason may be committed abroad, as well as at home. Therefore, there is nothing here that makes against the measure adopted against the Duke of Enghien.

There is one remaining point, connected with the death of the Duke of Enghien. The foul-mouthed man who writes in the *Times* newspaper, always is representing Napoleon, as having gone *by night*, like an assassin, into the territory of the Elector of Baden, to seize this same Royal Duke, and to bring him away into France to murder him. At any rate, a great outcry is made by all the haters of the French about the *violation of neutral territory*. The *truth*, my Lord, is this:—after the trial of Pichegru and his brother conspirators; after the discovery of the correspondence between Mr. Drake, our envoy at Munich, and persons in France; after the developement of the whole of the grand scheme which was then carrying on against the existence of the French government, and the life of the First Consul, the French government made a requisition to the Elector of Baden, for the purpose of arresting the Duke of Enghien. This requisition, which was dated at Paris on the 10th of March, 1804, stated “that the First Consul, from the successive arrests of the *banditti* which the English government has sent to France, and from the result of the trials which have been here instituted, has obtained a complete knowledge of the extensive part which the English agents at Offenbourg have had in those horrible plots, which have been devised against his own person, and against the safety of France.” The requisition then proceeds to state, that the First Consul had learned that the Duke of Enghien was in the territory of Baden, and that, looking upon him to be amongst the most determined enemies of France, the First Consul had found it necessary to send some troops into the Baden territory, to seize these, the authors of a crime, the nature of which put them out of the protection of the law of nations. The requisition concluded by saying, that General Caulaincourt was charged with the execution of it. The seizure of the Duke did not take place till after this notification; so that the thing was not done so suddenly, and so by stealth, as we are told it was. But still, as no *permission* appears to have been given by the Elector of

Baden, there certainly was a *violation of neutral rights*, which I am, my Lord, not at all disposed to *justify*, but which I will not speak of in very violent language, lest my words should be quoted and applied to the seizure of Napper Tandy at Hamburgh; to the forcing of the *Grand Duke of Tuscany* and the *Republic of Genoa* into our war of 1793; to the seizure of the *Danish fleet*, because the Danes refused to declare war against France; to the late affairs of *Valparaiso* and *Fajal*; to the forcible passage, by the Allies, through the *Swiss territory* last year; or, to many other cases, which I have not now time to particularize. The truth is, that the rights of *neutrality* are good for nothing, except to *strong powers*, as experience, during the last five and twenty years, has amply proved. In the year 1793, the Americans were sending great quantities of flour to France, where the people were supposed to be in danger of being starved. What did we do in that case? We seized on the *neutral ships* of America, bound to France with food; brought those ships into England, and compelled the owners of the cargoes to sell them to us. After this, we would not expect to find people impudent enough to assert, that we cannot live at peace with Napoleon, because he has been guilty of a violation of the laws of neutrality. But, what would astonish any body, not accustomed to the perusal of the columns of these impudent and corrupt writers, is this: that, at the very moment they are insisting, that no peace can be kept with Napoleon, because he violated the territory of the Elector of Baden, they are also insisting, that the cantons of Switzerland ought to be compelled to join the coalition against France, and, that, in this war, *no neutrals ought to be allowed to exist*. To argue with such men is out of the question; but it can hardly fail to be useful to expose, as far as one is able, their insincerity and their baseness.

I have only to add, upon the subject of the Duke of Enghien, that the documents to which I have referred, will be found, in the fifth Volume of the Register, at pages 496, 497, 498, 499, 606.

As to CAPTAIN WRIGHT, I shall speak, as in the former case, of the *official documents*, which have been published with regard to him; and shall offer no opinion of my own, much less shall I attempt to

make any assertion. Captain Wright was made prisoner, along with his crew, upon the French coast, in a sloop of war, by some French gun-boats. He was carried to Paris, as we complained, and which was the fact, there subjected to close imprisonment in the Temple "and obliged to "undergo repeated interrogatories, before "a court of justice, when more of the "facts alledged against him, would, if "true, authorize the French government "to consider Captain Wright in any other "light than as a *prisoner of war*." This was our statement with regard to Captain Wright.

This complaint the French government did not listen to. At last, our ministry applied to the Spanish Ambassador in London, to apply to the Spanish Ambassador at Paris, to procure, if possible, from the French government, the release of Captain Wright. The Spanish Ambassadors did, at last, prevail; and the consent of the French government was obtained; but, let us hear the language in which this consent is expressed, in a letter from the French Minister to M. Gravina, the Spanish Ambassador at Paris, dated Paris, 27th August, 1804, in the following words:—"I have laid before his Majesty, the Emperor, the letter which you "have done me the honour of communicating to me. By his order, I must "capitulate to your excellency some facts, "which relate to the object of that letter. "Mr. WRIGHT was taken by our cruisers, at the very moment he was landing *Jean Marie* and two other of his "accomplices, on the coast of Brittany. Prior to this, he had already landed at three times *banditti of a similar description*, who have since been "brought to judgment, convicted, and "punished, for having conspired against "the state, and attempted the life of the "First Consul. These species of acts, "under whatever point of view they may "otherwise be contemplated, certainly do "not appertain to WAR. There is no "age, nor any nation, in which they "would not be regarded as crimes, and "one may, with truth, aver, that it was in "flagranti delicto, that Mr. Wright was "captured by French mariners, then officiating as an armed force. According "to accounts, to which full credit must "be given, this officer had been demanded "from the English Admiralty. The Lords

"directing this department were, of "course, not ignorant of the *kind of service* to which he was destined. The "shame attached to the premeditation "of a project as atrocious and vile, as "it was cowardly, remains entirely with "the men who devised the plot, and "with him who undertook to accomplish "their views. I am ordered, Sir, to declare to your Excellency, that his Majesty, the Emperor, will never suffer Mr. WRIGHT to be EXCHANGED. "NO FRENCHMAN BELONGING, "WITH WHATEVER RANK HE "MAY, TO THE IMPERIAL NAVY, "CAN EVER CO SENT TO BE "PLACED IN A BALANCE WITH "THAT PERSON, IN A CARTEL OF "EXCHANGE. But, Sir, the Emperor, "having at heart to do every thing which "depends upon his Imperial Majesty, to "mitigate the scourges of war, and willing to prove, that in his breast such a "disposition preponderates over even "motives of useful and just severity, has "authorised me to declare, that his Imperial Majesty will give orders, that "Mr. Wright be placed at the disposal "of the English Government. May I "beg you, therefore, to make known to "Lord Harrowby, this generous determination of his Majesty. You will see in "it, Sir, the marked intention of doing "what may be personally agreeable to "yourself, and his Britannic Majesty's "new ministry will be constrained to recognise in it, a proof of the disposition, "so often manifested, on the part of his "Imperial Majesty, to shew himself above "not only those sentiments which offences "in general excite, but even above those "which might spring from the attempts, "of which his own person has been the "object."

Now, my Lord, it was never denied by the English ministry, that Captain Wright had done those acts which the French imputed to him. Indeed, they seemed pretty clearly to confess, that he had done them; and, in answer to the letter of the Spanish Ambassador, conveying this letter of the French Government, Lord Harrowby expressly declines making any remark on the French statement.

This, then, was the charge against Captain Wright; that he suffered himself to be employed in landing in France, "*banditti*," who were afterwards convicted of

a design to *assassinate* the Chief Magistrate of France. This was the charge against him, and this charge was *never denied*, as to the *act*, though the *description of the persons*, so landed, was stoutly denied by the Anti-jacobins, who insisted, that *Georges and Pichegru and Jean Marie* and the rest of that memorable set, including *Morreau*, were very honest and worthy gentlemen, and that their names ought to be held in reverence; and, indeed, we have seen, that the *pious Louis LE DESIRE*, while he was on the throne, *ENNOBLED* the family of *Georges*! Those who thought thus of the plot of *GEORGES* and his associates, would, of course, think, that Captain Wright acted a very meritorious part in being so zealous in landing in France persons having such laudable designs. But those who recollected, that *poisoners, assassins, and forgers* are not looked upon, by the writers on public law, as entitled to be considered as prisoners of war, might be apt to think with the writer of the French letter to the Spanish Minister; and, this writer, be it observed, was no other than *Mr. TALLEYRAND* himself, whom *your Lordship* knows to be not only a very sensible, but a very *worthy* man.

But, the *death* of Capt. Wright? The Emperor had given permission for his being placed at the disposal of the English Government. But, between that and the time for his release, he was said to have *killed himself* in prison. He certainly found his *death* there. That was enough. There needed no more to authorise our writers to impute his death to *Napoleon*. And, by degrees, he has been, and is now, familiarly called, “the *murderer* of Capt. Wright.” There never has been any *proof* of this attempted to be produced. It is a sheer falsehood on the part of the assertors, because they possess no proof at all of the fact. One might leave it so; and insist on their being impudent calumniators; but, let us ask, what motive could induce *Napoleon* to order such a murder to be committed? He had pardoned the man, and had taken credit for the act. He had, at the time of Wright’s death, put down all the conspirators and all the conspiracies; and, he had been chosen Emperor by the people of France. Besides (and this I beg you to attend to), *DURING HIS YEAR OF EXILE*, nobody was found to bring for-

ward any proof of this murder. Nobody, amongst all the hireling writers, was found to publish any of the proofs of an act, which *must* have been known to some one, at least, besides *Napoleon*. In short, it is a base and infamous calumny, which, if we were to make peace with *Napoleon*, the *Times* newspaper would be liable to be prosecuted for repeating.

If I am asked to *account* for the death of Mr. Wright, in the Temple, I say I am not bound to do it. We know, however, that persons, in such situations, frequently do put an end to their existence; and it must be confessed, that Capt. Wright’s was a situation, not only of great peril, but, which is more, perhaps, in such a case, of almost insupportable *mortification*. He is represented as a most enthusiastic Royalist. He had seen all his efforts defeated; many of his friends brought to an ignominious death. He was himself uncertain as to his fate. He had been captured by a parcel of *gun-boats*. And, if he was informed of the conditions, or, rather, the manner of his release, as described in Mr. *TALLEYRAND*’s Note, he would feel little pleasure in being known to all Europe, to have been put at the disposal of his government, without exchange, upon the ground, that the Emperor would not suffer any Frenchman to be exchanged against such a person.

But, are there no ways but those of *assassination* and *suicide*, by which men come to the end of their lives? Are there no *fits* or *fevers* in French jails, as well as in English jails? And, why was this Captain not to die as well as his neighbours? Are the English Ministers, or the Royal family, to be charged with all the *deaths*, or, even all the *sudden deaths*, in our prisons of war? Are they to be called *murderers* because prisoners of war have died in such great numbers? What absurdity! What impudent, or what foolish, men are those, who prefer this charge against *Napoleon*! But, as I before observed, the object of these men is to mislead, to delude, to inflame the people; to commit them in the bloody war, which has just begun, and thus to further their own base views. To defeat, or, at least, to *endeavour* to defeat, this wicked object is the duty of every man, who has the opportunity; and this duty, as I hope your Lordship will agree, Mr. *HUNT*, at

the Westminster Meeting, discharged in a most manly and able manner; in a manner worthy of the public-spirited and enlightened citizens, to whom his speech was addressed. I am, &c. &c.

WM. COBBETT.

Botley, June 21st, 1815.

No. I.

HISTORICAL NOTICES OF THE WAR OF ENGLAND, AUSTRIA, RUSSIA, PRUSSIA, DENMARK, SWEDEN, HOLLAND, SARDINIA, THE POPE, NAPLES, SICILY, SPAIN, PORTUGAL, BAVARIA, WURTEMBERG, &c. &c.; WITH AN ARMY OF ONE MILLION AND ELEVEN THOUSAND REGULAR SOLDIERS, AGAINST NAPOLEON AND FRANCE.

The mighty contest has begun. The new crusade against France and against liberty has commenced. The *Times* newspaper says, that the campaign has opened with "a great and glorious victory; that Bonaparte's reputation has been wrecked, and his last grand stake has been lost in this tremendous conflict; the fabric of rebellion is shaken to its base." The *Morning Chronicle*, that pink of hypocrisy, tells us, that it has been a "brilliant and complete victory, which will for ever exalt the glory of the British name; that it is the grandest and most important victory ever obtained." The *Courier*, in the height of its frenzy, declares, that there could not have been "a greater victory in point of glory, more vital to the real interests and safety of Europe, big with more important political consequences."—Of course, as this same *Courier* says, "the city is a scene of complete confusion; business is entirely neglected; the immortal Wellington is the universal theme; the streets and Exchange are crowded to excess—all anxious to hear the details of the glorious victory obtained by our noble countrymen."—While this delirium continues at its height, it would be useless in me to attempt to bring the public back to reason. I might as well think of reaching conviction to the minds of the inhabitants of St. Luke's; I might as well expect that a drunken man could discuss, with calmness and perspicuity, an argument in mathematics or moral philosophy. That I may not, how-

ever, be charged with partiality, I shall here insert the official details, which have been published respecting the first battle, or rather series of battles, that have been fought for the purpose of determining, whether France is, or is not, to be permitted to exercise the right of choosing her own government?—When the phrenzy, which has seized the public mind, has somewhat subsided, and we are in possession of the French official accounts of the opening of the campaign, without which correct ideas cannot be formed, it may then be useful to make some remarks on these interesting events. I shall begin with the *London Gazette Extraordinary*, containing the particulars of what the *Courier* calls, the "Complete Defeat of Bonaparte."

DOWNING-STREET, JUNE 22.—Major the Hon. H. Percy arrived last night with a dispatch from Field Marshal the Duke of Wellington, K. G. to Earl Bathurst, his Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the War Department, of which the following is a copy:

Waterloo, June 19.

MY LORD—Bonaparte having collected the 1st, 2d, 3d, 4th, and 6th corps of the French army, and the Imperial Guards, and nearly all the cavalry on the Sambre, and between that river and the Meuse, between the 10th and 14th of the month, advanced on the 15th, and attacked the Prussian posts of Thuin and Lobez, on the Sambre, at day-light in the morning. I did not hear of these events till the evening of the 15th, and I immediately ordered the troops to prepare to march; and afterwards to march to their left, as soon as I had intelligence from other quarters to prove that the enemy's movement upon Charleroy was the real attack. The enemy drove the Prussian posts from the Sambre on that day; and General Zeiten, who commanded the corps which had been at Charleroy, retired upon Flenres; and Marshal Blücher concentrated the Prussian army upon Sombref, holding the villages in front of his position of St. Amand and Ligny. The enemy continued his march along the road from Charleroy towards Bruxelles, and on the same evening, the 15th, attacked a brigade of the army of the Netherlands, under the Prince de Weimar, posted at Frasné, and forced it back to the farm house on the same road, called Les Quatre Bras. The Prince of Orange immediately reinforced this brigade with another of the same division, under General Perponcher, and in the morning early regained part of the ground which had been lost, so as to have the command

of the communication leading from Nivelles and Bruxelles, with Marshal Blücher's position. In the mean time I had directed the whole army to march upon Les Quatre Bras, and the 5th division under Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Picton, arrived at about half-past two in the day, followed by the corps of troops under the Duke of Brunswick, and afterwards by the contingent of Nassau. At this time the enemy commenced an attack upon Prince Blücher, with his whole force, excepting the 1st and 2d corps; and a corps of cavalry under General Kellerman, with which he attacked our post at Les Quatre Bras. The Prussian army maintained their position with their usual gallantry and perseverance, against a great disparity of numbers, as the 4th corps of their army, under General Bulow, had not joined, and I was not able to assist them as I wished, as I was attacked myself, and the troops, the cavalry in particular, which had a long distance to march, had not arrived. We maintained our position also, and completely defeated and repulsed all the enemy's attempts to get possession of it. The enemy repeatedly attacked us with a large body of infantry and cavalry, supported by a numerous and powerful artillery; he made several charges with the cavalry upon our infantry, but all were repulsed in the steadiest manner.—[Here his Lordship praises his troops and officers.]—Our loss was great, as your Lordship will perceive by the enclosed return; and I have particularly to regret his Serene Highness the Duke of Brunswick, who fell fighting gallantly at the head of his troops. Although Marshal Blücher had maintained his position at Sambre, he still found himself much weakened by the severity of the contest in which he had been engaged, and as the fourth corps had not arrived, he determined to fall back, and concentrate his army upon Wavre; and he marched in the night after the action was over. This movement of the Marshal's rendered necessary a corresponding one on my part; and I retired from the farm of Quatre Bras upon Genappe, and thence upon Waterloo the next morning, the 17th, at ten o'clock. The enemy made no effort to pursue Marshal Blücher. On the contrary, a patrol which I sent to Sambre in the morning, found all quiet, and the enemy's videttes fell back as the patrol advanced. Neither did he attempt to molest our march to the rear, although made in the middle of the day, excepting the following, with a large body of cavalry, brought from his right, the cavalry under the Earl of Uxbridge. This gave Lord Uxbridge an opportunity of charging them with the 1st Life

Guards, upon their débouché from the village of Genappe, upon which occasion his Lordship has declared himself to be well satisfied with that regiment. The position which I took up in front of Waterloo, crossed the high roads from Charleroy, and Nivelles, and had its right thrown back to a ravine near Merke Braine, which was occupied; and its left extended to a height above the hamlet Ter la Haye, which was likewise occupied. In front of the right centre and near the Nivelles road, we occupied the house and garden of Hougomont, which covered the return of that flank; and in front of the left centre we occupied the farm of La Haye Sainte. By our left we communicated with Marshal Prince Blücher, at Wavre through Ohain; and the Marshal had promised me that in case we should be attacked he would support me with one or more corps, as might be necessary. The enemy, collected his army, with the exception of the third corps, which had been sent to observe Marshal Blücher, on a range of heights in our front, in the course of the night of the 17th and yesterday morning, and at about ten o'clock he commenced a furious attack upon our post at Hougomont. I had occupied that post with a detachment from General Byng's brigade of Guards, which was in position in its rear; and it was for some time under the command, of Lieut. Col. Macdonald, and afterwards of Colonel Home; and I am happy to add that it was maintained throughout the day with the utmost gallantry by these brave troops, notwithstanding the repeated efforts of large bodies of the enemy to obtain possession of it. This attack upon the right of our centre was accompanied by a very heavy cannonade upon our whole line, which was destined to support the repeated attacks of cavalry and infantry occasionally mixed, but sometimes separate, which were made upon it. In one of these the enemy carried the farmhouse of La Haye Sainte, as the detachment of the light battalion of the legion which occupied it had expended all its ammunition, and the enemy occupied the only communication there was with them. The enemy repeatedly charged our infantry with his cavalry, but these attacks were uniformly unsuccessful, and they afforded opportunities to our cavalry to charge, in one of which Lord E. Somerset's brigade, consisting of the life guards, royal horse guards, and 1st dragoon guards, highly distinguished themselves as did that of Major-General Sir W. Ponsonby, having taken many prisoners and an eagle. These attacks were repeated till about seven in the evening, when the enemy made a desperate effort with the cavalry and infantry, supported by the fire of artillery, to

force our left centre, near the farm of La Haye Sainte, which after a severe contest was defeated; and having observed that the troops retired from this attack in great confusion, and that the march of General Bulow's corps by Enschermont upon Planchenorte and La Belle Alliance had begun to take effect, and as I could perceive the fire of his cannon, and as Marshal Prince Blücher had joined in person, with a corps of his army to the left of our line by Ohain, I determined to attack the enemy, and immediately advanced the whole line of infantry, supported by the cavalry and artillery. The attack succeeded in every point; the enemy was forced from his position on the heights, and fled in the utmost confusion, leaving behind him, as far as I could judge, 150 pieces of cannon, with their ammunition, which fell into our hands. I continued the pursuit till long after dark, and then discontinued it only on account of the fatigue of our troops, who had been engaged during twelve hours, and because I found myself on the same road with Marshal Blücher, who assured me of his intention to follow the enemy throughout the night; he has sent me word this morning that he had taken 60 pieces of cannon belonging to the Imperial Guard, and several carriages, baggage, &c. belonging to Bonaparte, in Genappe. I propose to move, this morning, upon Nivelles, and not to discontinue my operations. Your Lordship will observe, that such a desperate action could not have been fought, and such advantages could not be gained, without great loss; and I am sorry to add, that ours has been immense.—[Here his Lordship praises his officers and men.]—I should not do justice to my feelings or to Marshal Blücher and the Prussian army, if I did not attribute the successful result of this arduous day, to the cordial and timely assistance I received from them. The operation of General Bulow upon the enemy's flank, was a most decisive one; and even if I had not found myself in a situation to make the attack, which produced the final result, it would have forced the enemy to retire, if his attacks should have failed, and would have prevented him from taking advantage of them, if they should unfortunately have succeeded. I send, with this dispatch, two eagles, taken by the troops in this action, which Major Percy will have the honour of laying at the feet of his Royal Highness. I beg leave to recommend him to your Lordship's protection. I have the honour, &c. (Signed) WELLINGTON.

LIST OF THE BRITISH OFFICERS KILLED AND WOUNDED.

KILLED.

Duke of Brunswick Oels.

Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Picton,

Major-General Sir W. Ponsonby.

Colonels.—Du Plat, K. G. L.; Omteta, ditto; Morrin, 69th Regt.; Sir W. Ellis, 23d.

Lieutenant-Colonels.—Macara, 42d Regt.; Cameron, 92d Regt.; Sir Alex. Gordon, K. C. B. Aid-de-Camp to the Duke of Wellington; Canning; Currie, Lord Hill's Staff.

Majors.—The Hon. Fred. Howard, 10th Hussars; George Bain, Royal Artillery; Norman Ramsey, ditto; Cairnes, ditto; Chambers, 30th Regt.

Brevet-Majors.—Creston, 5th Division; Rosewiel, 2d Light Regiment.

Captains.—Bolton, Royal Artillery; Crawford, Guards; the Hon. — Curzon, A. D. C. to his Royal Highness the Prince of Orange; Chambers, A. D. C. to Lieut.-Gen. Picton; Charles Ellis, 95th Regt.; Robertson, 73d Regt.; Kennedy, ditto; Schauman, 2d Lt. Bat. K. G. L.; Helycowan, 1st ditto; Henry Marshal, 1st ditto; Goeben ditto; Gunning, 10th Hussars; Grove, 1st. Guards.

Lieutenants.—C. Manners, Royal Artillery; Lister, 95th Regt.

Ensigns.—Lord Hay, Aid-de-Camp to General Maitland; Brown, 1st Guards.

WOUNDED.

General his Royal Highness the Prince of Orange, G. C. B. severely.

Lieut.-Generals.—the Earl of Uxbridge, G. C. B. right leg amputated; Sir C. Alten, K. C. B. severely.

Major-Generals.—Cock, right arm amputated; Sir E. Barnes, K. C. B. Adjut.-Gen. severely; Sir J. Kempt, K. C. B. slightly; Sir Colin Halkitt, K. C. B. severely; Adams, severely; Sir W. Dornberg, K. C. B. severely.

Colonels.—Sir J. Elley, K. C. B. slightly; Harris, 73d Regt.; Quentin, 10th Hussars, slightly; the Hon. Fred. Ponsonby, severely; Sir W. De Lancey, severely.

Lieutenant-Colonels.—Lord Fitzroy Somerset, right arm amputated; Hay, 16th Light Dragoons, severely; Vigoureau, 30th Light Dragoons; Abercrombie, A. Q. M. G. slightly; Hamilton, 30th regiment; Cameron, 95th, severely; Wyndham, 1st Foot Guards, severely; Bowater, 3d Foot Guards, slightly; Macdonell, Coldstream, slightly; Dashwood, 3d Guards, severely; Sir R. Hill, Royal Horse Guards Blue, severely; Norcott, 95th, severely; Hill, severely; Schreider, 8th Line battalion; Adair, 1st Guards, severely; Miller, 1st Guards, dangerously; Sir George Henry Berkeley, A. A. G.

Majors.—Maclean, 73d; Beckwith, 95th, severely; Jessop, Assistant Quarter Master General; Bush, 1st Light Batt. K. G. L. right arm amputated, Parkinson, 73d, severely; Parker, R. H. Artillery, leg amputated; Robert Ball, Royal Artillery, severely; Hamilton, Aid-de-Camp to Major-General Sir E. Barnes; Watson, 69th regiment,

severely.—Brevet-Major, Einem, dangerously.—Majors Wilkins and Miller, 95th regt. severely; Lindsay, 69 h, dangerously.

Captains.—Smith, 95th regiment, severely; Tyler, Aid de Camp to Sir Thomas Picton, slightly; Dance, 23d Light Dragoons; Johnston, 95 h; Cammers, 95th; Darney, Napier, A. McDonald, Webber, Royal Artillery severely; Dumaresque, Aid de-Camp to Gen. Sir J. Byng, severely; Whynates, Royal Artillery, severely; the Hon. — Erskine, D. A. A. G. left arm amputated; A. Danton, Aid-de-Camp to Lieutenant-General Picton, severely; Barnes, Brevet Major, Royal Artillery, severely.

Lieutenants.—Royal Artillery, Foster, Crome, Robe, Smith, Strangway, Brierton, and Forbes, severely; Hornsey, arm amputated; Bloomfield and D. Crawford, slightly.—Haverlock, Aid-de-Camp to Gen. Sir Charles Alten; Pringle, Royal Engineers, slightly; Hamilton, 46th regiment, slightly; Heise, 1st light battalion; Gardiner, Johnstone, Moltry, Simmons, J. Gardiner, Fitzmaurice, Shenley, and Wright, 95th, severely.

FRENCH ACCOUNTS.

The following relate only to the operations of the army previous to the battle of the 18th, the French account of which has not arrived.

GENERAL ORDER.

Avesnes, June 14, 1815.

Soldiers!—This day is the anniversary of Marengo and of Friedland, which twice decided the destiny of Europe. Then, as after Austerlitz, as after Wagram, we were too generous! We believed in the protestations and in the oaths of Princes whom we left on the throne! Now, however, coalesced among themselves, they would destroy the independence and the most sacred rights of France. They have commenced the most unjust of aggressions. Let us march, then, to meet them. Are they and we no longer the same men? Soldiers, at Jena, against these same Prussians, now so arrogant, you were one against three, and at Montmirail one against six! Let those among you who have been prisoners of the English, detail to you the bulks, and the frightful miseries which they suffered! The Saxons, the Belgians, the Hanoverians, the soldiers of the Confederation of the Rhine, lament that they are compelled to lend their arms to the cause of Princes, the enemies of justice and of the rights of all nations; they know that this coalition is insatiable! After having devoured twelve millions of Poles, twelve millions of Italians, one million of Saxons, six millions of Belgians, it must

devour the states of the second rank of Germany. The madmen! a moment of prosperity blinds them. The oppression and humiliation of the French people are beyond their power. If they enter France, they will there find their tomb. Soldiers! we have forced marches to make, battles to fight, dangers to encounter; but with steadiness, victory will be ours; the rights, the honour, the happiness of the country will be reconquered! To every Frenchman who has a heart, the moment is arrived to conquer or perish.

(Signed)

NAPOLÉON.

(A true copy) The Marshal Duke of Dalmatia, Major-Gen.

Charleroi, June 15.

On the 14th the army was placed in the following manner:—The Imperial Head-quarters at Beaumont. The 1st corps, commanded by General D'Erlon, was at Solre on the Sambre. The 2d corps, commanded by General Reillé, was at Ham-sur-Heure. The 3d corps, commanded by General Vandamme, was on the right of Beaumont. The 4th corps, commanded by General Gerard, had arrived at Philippeville. On the 15th, at three in the morning, General Reillé attacked the enemy, and advanced upon Marchiennes-au-Pont. There were various engagements, in which his cavalry charged a Prussian battalion, and made 300 prisoners. At one in the morning, the Emperor was at Jamignon-sur-Heure. General Dalmont's division of light cavalry sabred two Prussian battalions, and made 400 prisoners. General Pajol entered Charleroi at mid-day. The sappers and marines of the guard were with the advance to repair the bridges. They were the first to penetrate into the town as sharpshooters. General Clari, with the 1st Hussars, advanced upon Gosselies, on the Brussels road; and General Pajol upon Gilly, on the Namur road. At three in the afternoon General Vandamme debouched with his corps on Gilly. Marshal Grouchy arrived with the cavalry of General Excelmans. The enemy occupied the left of the position of Fleurus; at five in the afternoon the Emperor ordered an attack. The position was turned, and carried. Four squadrons of the Guard, commanded by General Letort, the Emperor's Aids-de-camp, broke three squares; the 26th, 27th, and 28th Prussian regiments were routed. Our squadrons sabred from four to 500 men, and took 150 prisoners. During this time General Reillé passed the Sambre at Marchiennes-au-Pont, in order to advance upon Gosselies with the divisions of Prince Jerome and General Bachelu, attacked the enemy, took from him 250 prisoners, and pursued him on the road to Brus.

sels. We thus became masters of the whole position of Fleurus. At eight in the evening the Emperor re-entered his head-quarters at Charleroi. This day cost the enemy five pieces of cannon and 2,000 men, of whom 1,000 are prisoners. Our loss is 10 men killed and 80 wounded, the greater part belonging to the squadron of the guard who made the charges, and to three squadrons of the 20th dragoons, who also charged a square with the greatest intrepidity. Our loss, though trifling in amount, has been sensibly felt by the Emperor, from the severe wound received by General Lort, his aid-de-camp, in charging at the head of the squadrons. He is an officer of the greatest distinction: he was struck by a ball in the lower part of the belly, but the surgeons give hopes that his wound will not be mortal*. We have found some magazines at Charleroi. The joy of the Belgians it would be impossible to describe. There were some villages which, on the sight of their deliverers, formed dances; and every where there is a movement which proceeds from the heart. In the report of the Major-General of the Staff the names of the officers and soldiers who distinguished themselves will be inserted. The Emperor has given the command of the left to the Prince of Moskwa, who, in the evening, had his head-quarters at Quatre-Chemins, on the road to Brussels. The Duke of Treviso, to whom the Emperor gave the command of the young guard, has remained at Beaumont, ill of the rheumatism, which has forced him to keep his bed. The 4th corps, commanded by General Gerard, arrives this evening at Chatelet. General Gerard has stated, that Lieut. General Bourmont, Colonel Clauet, and the chief of squadron Villoutreys, have passed over to the enemy. A lieutenant of the 11th Chasseurs has also gone over. The Major-General has ordered that these deserters shall be immediately sentenced conformably to the laws. It would be impossible to describe the good spirit and ardour of the army. It views the desertion of this small number of traitors who thus throw off the mask, as a fortunate event.

NEWS FROM THE ARMY.

In rear of Ligny, half past 8 in the evening of the 16th of June, 1815.

The Emperor has just obtained a complete victory over the Prussian and English armies, united under the orders of Lord Wellington and Marshal Blücher. The army at this moment debouches by the village of Ligny, in advance of Fleurus, to pursue the enemy.

* A letter of the Emperor, of the 16th, ends with these words, written with his own hand—"he is going on well."

Fleurus, June 17, 4 o'clock in the morning.

The battle of yesterday lasted till ten o'clock in the evening. We are still in pursuit of the enemy, who has experienced a terrible overthrow. We have hitherto 8,000 prisoners, 20 pieces of cannon, and several standards, many officers of rank, among others Count Lutzu. We expect at day break to collect a great number in the villages of St. Amand, and others who were cut off by the movement which the Emperor caused his guard to make. The grenadiers and chasseurs of the old guard massacred entire masses, and have lost very few men. It appears that it was a charge of bayonet by the Imperial Foot Guards which decided the battle. The enemy have been extremely numerous. I never saw such enthusiasm in our soldiers. The columns which marched to battle, the wounded who returned from being dressed, never ceased to exclaim "Live the Emperor!"

COPY OF A LETTER FROM THE MAJOR-GENERAL TO THE WAR MINISTER.

Fleurus, June 17, 1815.

Monsieur Marshal,—I announced yesterday, from the field of battle of Ligny, to his Imperial Highness Prince Joseph, the signal victory which the Emperor has gained. I returned here with his Majesty at 11 o'clock in the evening, and it was necessary to pass the night in attending to the wounded. The Emperor has remounted his horse, to follow the success of the battle of Ligny. It was fought with fury, and the greatest enthusiasm on the part of the troops. We were one to three. At eight o'clock in the evening, the Emperor marched with his guard: six battalions of the old guard, the dragoons, and horse-grenadiers, and the cuirassiers of General Delort, debouched by Ligny, and executed a charge which separated the enemy's line. Wellington and Blücher saved themselves with difficulty: the effect was theatrical. In an instant the firing ceased, and the enemy was routed in all directions. We have already several thousand prisoners, and 40 pieces of cannon. The 6th and 1st corps were not engaged. The left wing fought against the English army, and took from it cannon and standards. At night I will give you further details, for every instant prisoners are announced. Our loss does not appear enormous; since, without screening it, I do not reckon it at more than 3000 men.

(Signed)

Marshal, Major-General Duke of DALMATIA.

(A Copy)

Marshal, Minister of War, Prince of ECKMÜHL.

EXPOSITION OF THE MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR.

The President announced, that Count Regnault St. Jean d'Angely requested a hearing, to communicate to the Chamber the exposition of the Minister of the Interior: it was granted.

His Majesty the Emperor, said Count Regnault, having charged those of his Ministers who are Members of the Chamber of Peers to communicate to that Assembly the exposition of our situation, which was announced to you in the discourse from the throne, has confided a similar mission to those of his ministers who have been elected representatives of the people. To-day, and at the moment when I speak, the Minister of the Interior is reading to the Chamber of Peers the exposition of the state of the Empire. I have been charged to communicate to you a copy thereof, and shall read it, if such is the pleasure of the Chamber. The assembly manifested its assent.

Count Regnault resumed.—Among all the objects of the Emperor's solicitude, the first, after his solemn acceptance of the constitution, has been to make known to the nation, through the medium of its representatives, the true situation in which it is placed. Three months have scarcely elapsed since his Majesty quitted the rock to which circumstances had for a moment banished him, in order to deliver France from the enslaving yoke of a worn-out dynasty, which managed the resources of our fine country merely for the profit of foreigners. The enthusiasm which served as an escort to his Majesty from the period of his landing, sufficiently proved on what side lay the national wishes. It proves, that if the deposed family could ever re-enter France with the aid of foreigners, it would soon be expelled anew. Its prejudices, its engagements with the old privileged castes, are all in opposition to the liberal ideas in which the existing generation has been bred, and which can never retrograde. With the princes of that family, we should have seen, as indeed we are menaced, with the re-appearance of all the cruel absurdities of feudal government, and the degrading slavery of the monastic system. In the mean time, it is to re-establish all these institutions, that they invite the foreigner into our fine country: but we will never thus abandon it; we will rally around the Emperor, the

protector of liberal ideas, around a Prince who, educated in the revolution, advances with the age in which he lives, and wishes to extend the dominion of mind instead of circumscribing it. Instructed by misfortunes, he will see the conquerors of Austerlitz, of Marengo, and of Jena, march anew under the colours which so often led them to victory, and the event will not be doubtful. However, his Majesty is sincerely desirous of peace; he has done every thing to preserve it, but without inclining to listen for a moment to humiliating conditions, which would compromise the honour and the dearest interests of France. All his efforts, however, have been fruitless; already our frontiers are menaced at all points, already hostilities have been commenced without any preliminary declaration of war, and there seems to remain no other resource for the maintenance of our independence but an appeal to arms. If the Emperor were less fortified by the inherent strength of his character, he might fear two rocks. There has been talk of a royalist party and a republican party, alike enemies of his government. But the former has not known how to defend the Princes objects of its affection, for whom it pretended a willingness to die; it is far from formidable. As to the republicans, converted from old errors, of which cruel experience made them feel too severely the fatal effects, they see in the Emperor only the protector of the liberal ideas which they have at all times themselves professed, and which excesses alone have prevented them from hitherto seeing realised. The time has been too short to give to the national constitution all the perfection of which it was susceptible; but the Emperor, towards the accomplishment of this essential work, reckons on the intelligence and patriotism of the two Chambers. The preparations for war have prevented him from giving to it himself all the attention which he could have wished; but the French territory was threatened. The national character, which essentially rejects every idea of conquest, should have been a sufficient guarantee to all the powers of Europe against the invasion which they seem so much to fear at present; but that fear is only a vain pretext to cover their ambition. That ambition is sufficiently demonstrated by the senseless declarations of the Congress of Vienna, by the assem-

blages on our frontiers, by hostilities commenced in full peace, by landings effected on our coasts in order to encourage civil war, and, in fine, by the refusal to listen to any proposal for the maintenance of peace. All these circumstances must give a precise idea of the justice and moderation of our enemies: it is the same as in 1792, when the Duke of Brunswick published the famous manifesto of which the insolent pretensions converted the French into a nation of soldiers. Representatives of the nation, you know the French people, essentially good and generous, and always ready to contribute to the wants of the country, provided the whole extent of these wants be fairly made known to them. You have already assumed that wise and imposing attitude which is the finest guarantee to our liberty and independence; and you have a right to know, without the least disguise, the state of our wants and resources. The former are doubtless great, but sufficient means exist to provide for them without oppressing the people; and with the energy which you share with the people who elected you, we shall be certain of repelling the most unjust aggression against an independent people, of which the political annals of cabinets have ever preserved the recollection. I am charged to present to you the following details on our internal situation:—

COMMUNES.—Under this head, Count Regnault stated, that the communal administrations had been almost totally abandoned under the government of the Bourbons; that the communal funds, so essential to the movement of troops, the equipment of the national guards, &c. had been delapidated by the journeys of the Princes, by the restoration of woods to emigrants, and by many other malversations; but that the Emperor was taking pains to restore order in this important branch of internal administration.

HOSPITALS.—These asylums of suffering humanity had at all times excited the solicitude of the Emperor. At the commencement of 1814, these establishments had been exposed to considerable additional expences from the number of sick and wounded soldiers. Under the late government, however, they were on the point of losing one of their principal resources, by the restitution of property of emigrants, with which they had been endowed by solemn laws. The Emperor had restored it to them. He had also doubled the funds of the Maternal Society which he founded; which, on this account alone, was neglected, and of which the august protectress is invited back by the wishes of all Frenchmen. The depots of mendicity, created also by the Emperor, were equally abandoned; but these establishments were about to resume new acti-

vity. The hospitals in the departments invaded by the enemy had considerably suffered, but they were already re-established.

WORKS.—Under this head Count Regnault enumerated the great monuments founded or ordered by his Majesty; they should be continued, though they were seen suspended even in time of peace; but they should in future be exclusively reserved for France, and if existing circumstances did not permit them to receive that extent which were to be wished, they should soon be accelerated by the arms which would be no longer necessary for the defence of the country.

WORKS AT PARIS.—The Minister here gave an account of the various constructions which have been commenced in the capital, and which should be continued.

MINES.—This head presented nothing remarkable.

MANUFACTURES.—Count Regnault here did justice to the superiority of our manufactures, which all the merchants of Europe could attest from the experience furnished them by the short time during which it had been in their power to trade with us. He saw, like every statesman, that France, at once agricultural and manufacturing, could alone dispense with the assistance of its neighbours, and that a liberal government could not fail to give all possible spring to national industry, formerly compressed by Gothic prejudices.—He announced that various new manufactures had been improved, and others introduced; that the manufacture of sugar from the beet-root, in spite of all the efforts made to destroy it, promised shortly to render Europe independent of the New World for that article; that the indigo of woad, without having reached the same perfection, already rivalled that of India; and that, in fine, a number of useful discoveries presented new sources of national prosperity.

COMMERCE.—The report expressed nothing but hope upon this article, and by the absurd ambition of sovereigns all the nations of Europe are placed in the same condition.

INSTRUCTION.—Under this title the Minister exhibited all the vicissitudes to which the corps of teachers had been subjected. The result of the enquiry shewed that the number both of colleges and scholars had been diminished, but that the university of Paris still numbered under its direction 325,554 pupils, and that the lycæum, stimulated by the new encouragement of the Emperor, displayed the best spirit.

PUBLIC WORSHIP.—In speaking of the clergy, the Minister did not attempt to disguise the errors they committed under the last government, in giving way, from the lure of a restitution of church property, to the influence of emigrants, in stigmatizing as plunderers the owners of national property, whose titles had been recognised as legitimate by the Pope himself, and in attempting, in the name of the Almighty, whose servants they are, to light up civil war among men.—The Emperor, however, was always disposed to protect, and even favour the ministers of the church, so long as they confined themselves within the bounds of their duty, and had already conferred on the curates an augmentation of 150 francs, which had been vainly promised to them by the last government. The Emperor was, besides, the only sovereign who, having no

further interests to arrange with the Pope, had it in his power to put an end to those interminable negotiations, commenced by the last government with the Court of Rome, and to re-establish, upon the basis of the *concordat*, the liberties of the Gallican church.

JURISPRUDENCE.—This article of the report was extremely short. The Minister merely stated, that those civil judges who felt themselves unworthy of their functions, had done justice by abdicating their offices; and that as far as respected the administration of the criminal law, the establishment of the trial by jury every day merited new approbation; but that in the mean time, some organical institutions were necessary to regulate the duties and diminish the labours of those judicial citizens.

THE WAR DEPARTMENT.—It was absolutely impossible to follow M. le Comte Regnault through all the details which he furnished on this important topic. The result is, that on the 1st of April, 1814, the army consisted of 450,000 men, exclusive of 150,000 prisoners, all veteran soldiers, and of 115,000 conscripts of the levy of 1815, of which 45,000 only, out of 160,000, had been raised. The last government, at once prodigal and avaricious, alarmed at its own strength, and essentially hostile to the army, had taken every possible means of diminishing it.—The orator then described the various oppressions to which the army had been exposed, particularly by the introduction of the emigrants, and which had reduced its number to 175,000 men. Since the 20th of March last, its number had been raised to 375,000 combatants of every description; and before the 1st of August, it would amount to 500,000 independent of the national guards.

THE IMPERIAL GUARD.—This surest bulwark of the throne in times of war, and its finest ornament in time of peace, had a separate article allotted to it in the official report. The Minister condemned the injustice with which it was treated by the last government, and announced that it already amounted to 40,000 men.

ARTILLERY.—The losses in this arm has been in a great measure repaired; they were occasioned chiefly by treachery, and especially the delivering up of all the strong places, by order of the Count d'Artois in his capacity of Lieutenant-General of the kingdom. By this single act France had lost 12,000 pieces of cannon, mostly of brass, the value of which is estimated at 200,000,000 of francs. This loss, however, had been entirely supplied: the arsenals, magazines of powder, and armories, were in full activity; and after having armed the national guard and associations, there would remain in the magazines 600,000 muskets in reserve.

MILITARY EXPENDITURE.—The administrative details on this subject were little susceptible of abridgment. The Minister, however, asserted that the necessary funds would be easily provided, and no new taxes be required.

NATIONAL GUARD.—This article furnished no information of which the public is not already in possession.

THE MARINE presented considerable resources, notwithstanding the evils produced by treachery, which had not, however, cast any stain upon its honour.

IMPORTANT DOCUMENTS.

PARIS, JUNE 12.—Yesterday, (Sunday the 11th) the Emperor being on his throne, surrounded by the Princes his brothers, the Grand Dignitaries, Ministers, &c. received at the Thuilleries, before mass, a Deputation of the Chamber of Peers. On this occasion, the Prince Arch-Chancellor, president, presented the following address:

Sire,—Your anxiety to submit to constitutional forms and rules, the absolute power with which circumstances and the confidence of the people had invested you, the new guarantees given to the rights of the nation, the devotedness which leads you into the midst of the dangers the army is about to brave, penetrate all hearts with profound gratitude. The Peers of France come to offer your Majesty the homage of this sentiment. You have manifested principles, *Sire*, which are those of the nation: they must also be ours. Yes, all power springs from the people, is instituted for the people; the constitutional monarchy is necessary to the French, as the guarantee of its liberty and independence. *Sire*, while you shall be on the frontiers, at the head of the sons of the country, the Chamber of Peers will zealously concur in every legislative measure which circumstances require, to compel foreigners to acknowledge the national independence, and to cause the principles, consecrated by the will of the people, to triumph in the interior. The interest of France is inseparable from yours. Should fortune fail your efforts, reverses, *Sire*, shall not weaken our perseverance, and shall redouble our attachment to you. If events correspond to the justice of our cause, and to the hopes we are accustomed to conceive of your genius, and to the bravery of our armies, France desires no other fruits from them but peace. Our institutions guarantee to Europe that the French nation cannot be drawn on by the seductions of victory.

His Majesty replied:—

M. President, and Gentlemen Deputies of the Chamber of Peers.—The contest in which we are engaged is serious. The seduction of prosperity is not the danger which threatens us now. It is under the *Caudine Forks* that foreigners wish to make us pass!—The justice of our cause, the public spirit of the nation, and the courage of the army, are powerful reasons for hoping success; but should we have reverses, then especially I shall delight to see called forth all the energy of this great people; then shall I find in the Chamber of Peers, proofs of attachment to the country and me.—It is in difficult times that great nations, like great men, develop all the energy of their character, and become objects of admiration to posterity. I thank you, gentlemen, for the sentiments you have expressed to me in the name of the Chamber.

This audience being finished, the Emperor proceeded to mass. After mass, having again taken his place on the throne, he received a deputation of the

Chamber of Representatives, headed by Count Lanjuinais, the president, who presented the following address:

Sire.—The Chamber of Representatives received with profound emotion the words which proceeded from the throne at the solemn sitting, when your Majesty, laying down the extraordinary power which you exercised, proclaimed the commencement of the Constitutional monarchy. The chief basis of that monarchy, the protectress of liberty, equality, and the happiness of the people, have been recognized by your Majesty, who, rising above all scruples, as anticipating all wishes, has declared that the care of collecting our scattered constitutions, and of arranging them, was one of the most important occupations reserved for the legislature. Faithful to its mission, the Chamber of Deputies will perform the task thus devolved upon it; it requests that, to satisfy the public wish, as well as the wishes of your Majesty, national deliberation should rectify, as speedily as possible, any thing defective or imperfect, that the urgency of our situation may have produced, or left to exist in our constitutions considered as a whole. But at the same time, *Sire*, the Chamber of Representatives will not shew itself less anxious to proclaim its sentiments and its principles as to the terrible contest which threatens to cover Europe with blood. In the train of disastrous events, France invaded, appeared for a moment listened to as to the establishment of a constitution, only to see herself almost immediately subjected to a royal charter emanating from absolute power, to an ordinance of reform always revocable in its nature, and which, not having the expressed assent of the people, could never be considered as obligatory on the nation. Resuming now the exercise of her rights, rallying around the hero whom her confidence anew invests with the government of the state, France is astonished and afflicted at seeing some Sovereigns in arms call her to account for an internal change, which is the result of the national will, and which attacks neither the relations existing with other governments, nor their security.—France cannot admit the distinctions with the aid of which the coalesced powers endeavour to cloak their aggression. To attack the monarch of its choice, is to attack the independence of the nation. It is armed as one man to defend that independence, and to repel, without exception, every family and every prince whom men shall dare to wish to impose upon it. No ambitious project enters the thoughts of the French people; the will even of a victorious Prince would be insufficient to draw on the nation beyond the limits of its own defence: but to guard its territory, to maintain its liberty, its honour, its dignity, it is ready for any sacrifice. Why are we not still permitted to hope, *Sire*, that these warlike preparations, formed perhaps by the irritation of pride, and by illusions which every day must weaken, may still disperse before the want of a peace necessary to all the nations of Europe, and which shall restore to your Majesty a spouse, to the French the heir of a throne? But blood has already flowed, the signal of combats, prepared against the independence and liberty of France, has been given in the name of

a people who carry to the highest pitch the enthusiasm of liberty and independence. Doubtless, among the communications which your Majesty promises us, the Chambers will find proofs of the efforts you have made to maintain the peace of the world. If all these efforts must remain useless, may the calamities of war fall upon those who shall have provoked them.—The Chamber of Representatives only waits for the documents announced to it in order to contribute with all its power to the measures which the success of so legitimate a war will require. It delays pronouncing its resolves only till it knows the wants and resources of the state; and while your Majesty, opposing to the most unjust aggression the valour of the national armies and the force of your genius, will seek in victory only one means of attaining a durable peace, the Chamber of Representatives will deem that it marches towards the same object, by incessantly labouring on the compact, of which the improvement must cement the union of the people and the throne, and strengthen, in the eyes of Europe, by the amelioration of our institutions, the guarantee of our engagements.

His Majesty replied:

Mr. President, and Gentlemen Deputies of the Chamber of Representatives.—I recognise with satisfaction my own sentiments in those which you express to me. In these weighty circumstances my thoughts are absorbed by the imminent war, to the success of which are attached the independence and the honour of France. I will depart this night to place myself at the head of my armies; the movements of the different hostile corps render my presence there indispensable. During my absence I shall see with pleasure a commission appointed by each chamber engaged in deliberating on our constitutions. The constitution is our rallying point; it must be our pole-star in these stormy moments. All public discussion, tending to diminish directly or indirectly the confidence which should be placed in its enactments, will be a misfortune to the state; we should then find ourselves at sea, without a compass and without a rudder. The crisis in which we are placed is great. Let us not imitate the conduct of the Lower Empire, which, pressed on all sides by barbarians, made itself the laughing stock of posterity, by occupying itself with abstract discussions, at the moment when the battering ram was shaking the gates of the city. Independently of the Legislative measures required by the circumstances of the interior, you will probably deem it useful to employ yourself on organic laws destined to put the constitution in motion. They may be the object of your public labours without any inconvenience. The sentiments expressed in your address sufficiently demonstrate to me the attachment of the Chamber to my person, and all the patriotism with which it is animated. In all affairs my march shall be straight forward and firm. Assist me to save the country. First representative of the people, I have contracted the engagement, which I renew, of employing in more tranquil times, all the prerogatives of the Crown, and the little experience I have acquired, in seconding you in the amelioration of our Constitutions.